

Perhaps that will answer the question as to why these programs were not suggested sooner.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCRIVNER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. That is exactly what I was trying to get at. First of all, I want to commend the very able presentation of the gentleman from Kansas. But did I understand from the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH] that the \$1.5 billion approximately provided in this bill is a down payment or an installment on the regular appropriation bill?

Mr. SCRIVNER. That is right.

Mr. GROSS. That the regular appropriation bill will be reduced in the amount of this bill?

Mr. SCRIVNER. That is correct. What we are doing in substance, as you have been told several times, is buying time so that we can get on to some of these programs 6, 9, or 12 months ahead. These items would have been included in the fiscal year 1959 program, so it is just a question of whether you are going to give them \$1.3 billion right now to get on with the job, get these things built, or wait until August, or later before making the funds available. You are buying time, and it is a purchase that is very well made.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCRIVNER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FORD. I think it ought to be made clear that this \$1.3 billion has already been reflected in the budget for fiscal 1959, so the budget as submitted in the dollar amount cannot be further reduced another \$1.3 billion. It has already been reduced.

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Chairman, I have covered in at least part the salient points. We are buying time for these various programs. The financial picture, the numbers and all, have been clearly given to you by the other members of the committee. It is all set out very clearly in the committee report. I cannot agree with all of that report because I cannot agree with the statement in the committee report that our vast superiority has receded. I do not think it has. But I do agree that our military superiority overall is greater than that of Russia. They do have a bigger army, more men, no question about it. They have had it ever since 1946. So, that is no reason for alarm. They do have more submarines of various types. Many of them are for their own defense. It is nothing new. That force has been there for some long time.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCRIVNER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. The gentleman is quoting words from the report which I wrote with my own hands.

Mr. SCRIVNER. I still cannot agree with it.

Mr. MAHON. I stated that after World War II, or words to that effect,

we were vastly superior to the Soviet Union in military strength. We had the atomic bomb and they did not, and so forth. The point that we were trying to make was that this gap between the Soviet Union and the United States has been narrowing, and our relative position has receded.

Mr. SCRIVNER. I know, but when a man is at the bottom of the hill he has no place to go but up. When we get to the peak, he is going to start catching up if he keeps climbing; sure.

Mr. MAHON. It just so happens that the Soviet Union is ahead of us in some of these space areas.

Mr. SCRIVNER. And we are ahead of them in other space areas.

Mr. MAHON. They are ahead of us in the number of airplanes, fighter aircraft, and so forth.

Mr. SCRIVNER. They have had a need for more fighters because they had a greater threat against them. They still have a greater threat because our Strategic Air Command today can visit all the death and destruction that is necessary to deter war. It is so great that the Russians do not dare accept that cost of that devastation.

Mr. MAHON. The object of our program is to have something more effective when the Strategic Air Command loses its maximum effectiveness.

Mr. SCRIVNER. That is right.

Mr. MAHON. When it begins to lose in importance we will have something to take its place.

Mr. SCRIVNER. That is why we are going to have missiles. It is to augment the Strategic Air Command and the Tactical Air Force. If it is not going to help, we have no business spending the money.

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCRIVNER. I yield.

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. The statement was made that we were ahead at the end of World War II, but with regard to missiles we were starting out both even because we both captured V-2's and some German scientists, did we not?

Mr. SCRIVNER. Yes, we did. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons, perhaps, that Russia is ahead of us in submarines is that the Russians got the German submarine pens, they got the German submarine scientists, they got the plans and blueprints for the snorkels, 36 of them, and the 6 that were completed were divided between us, England, and France. But that is past history. I am not so much concerned about the past as the future. You remember Kettering of General Motors said, "It is not the past that concerns me so much; what I am concerned about is in the future, because that is where I'll spend the rest of my life."

Let us look ahead and quit looking back. We still accomplish more and get further. I do not agree with all this language, but the Chairman does point out that even though there are fields of disagreement, whether we think one way or think the other we realize we must maintain our superior defense position if we are to remain at peace. That is one of the reasons we are here today,

buying time for \$1,270 million. I hope, as has been expressed here on the floor of the House, that this bill will be completed today. It should receive a unanimous vote which will get it on its way to be sent to the other body and let them act on it expeditiously so that the Department of Defense can get on to the job preparing this much-needed program.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCRIVNER. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. I suppose the gentleman saw in yesterday morning's papers the statement of the Secretary of Defense that 25,000 people would be added to the payroll of the Department of Defense.

Mr. SCRIVNER. Yes; and that is a comment that has not been verified.

Mr. GROSS. The question I wanted to ask the gentleman is whether there is any money in this bill to pay for those people to be added to the Department of Defense, or to be restored.

Mr. SCRIVNER. No. The purposes of the money in this bill, as I said a while ago, are set out on page 11. That answers the gentleman's question.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

(Mr. SCRIVNER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES].

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, this is not a crash program in any sense. It is a very moderate approach to the correction of a dangerous situation—Soviet superiority in certain advanced weapons and in some phases of scientific achievement. And I tell you these exist. This is not a large expenditure as modern defense expenditures go, but the hearings before you will show repeated testimony that a greater expenditure at this time is not justified—the state of the art of American know-how is not sufficiently advanced for the Department of Defense to ask for more money.

Very probably more money will be added by the Senate, and the House may agree to it. But the amount of money before you is all that the Air Force and the Navy say that they can properly use now. The Army testified they needed more money. That is included. But, I should point out that none of the money which is included for the Army was cleared by the Bureau of the Budget or by the Department of Defense. This committee took arbitrary action because we felt their case justified it. But all of the services have stated they will come back to the Congress when they can show definitely a need for more funds in these important fields.

I think that is assurance enough to go on, certainly for the time being.

Mr. Chairman, there is no question about the wisdom of the action that is requested now. I consider it essential. We are not in a helpless position, but we are behind in critical areas of defense and we must catch up. Any official in a position of responsibility in our Govern-

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ment who orders less than an all-out effort in these critical areas fails in his duty.

Now, how did we get ourselves into a situation of this kind? I am not going to try to assess the blame, although that is becoming a popular pastime just now. What is more important is for us to pull together and get our ox out of the ditch.

I want to state very positively I am disappointed with the delays in pushing ahead after the present situation became known. I am seriously concerned with what appears to be a lack of information in the high places in our Government on what is happening in the world. We have a very costly intelligence system. Its expenditures have almost no congressional screening or control. Yet it apparently has not been capable of obtaining comprehensive, up-to-the-minute information for our Government on world events. On every major crisis we appear to be the last to find out what is going on.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield.

Mr. MAHON. I think the gentleman might agree with me that perhaps there is certainly more than a grain of truth in what appears to be the assertion of Mr. Allen Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence. It is indicated in the morning paper that he has reported many things to the Government with respect to the peril which has confronted us, but the people responsible for decisions have not been willing to listen to him and take action as a result of what he has reported. That was the import of what I read in the morning paper. But it seems to me there is a lot of truth in that, because I think the Intelligence Service has made many reports which have gone unheeded, and therein lies a danger. I understand Mr. Dulles in the future is to polish these presentations up and add charts and red arrows indicating the danger areas. Maybe that will enable us to interpret his reports more carefully. I believe the CIA has done a better job than it has received credit for.

Mr. SIKES. I do not know whether the major crises that have occurred in recent years have been reported to the people in high places in our Government or not. I have evidence they were not. But if our officials knew of those grave conditions, then they failed to impart their knowledge to the Congress and to the American people, and they failed to take advantage of repeated assurances that the Congress will give all the help it can by legislation or by appropriation. I cannot believe that has always been the case. If they knew of these things I say again there was no inkling to the Congress from the agencies of the administration of the impending breakthrough by the Russians in the satellite and missile fields as late as August 30, 1957, when the Congress was still in session. That was just a little more than a month before the first sputnik was launched. Yet even after it was launched there appeared to be little apprehension among Government officials of the seriousness of Soviet progress.

I call attention to the fact that 45 days after the first sputnik was launched, when this committee met to seek the

facts on the missile program, the full go-ahead on our missile and satellite program still was entangled in the Pentagon maze. The services then had not been told to go ahead and expedite this program as fast as they could. Now, 3 months later, we have this moderate request for funds. The Pentagon tells us that the state of the art will not permit a proper and orderly use of additional funds. That does not speak very well for the state of the art in this country when you consider that all we hope to do at the moment is cut down the lead which the Russians appear to have; when you consider that Congress repeatedly has voted the money requested for research and development, and that is where know-how originates.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield.

Mr. FLOOD. Of course the gentleman is aware of these fantastic and sometimes arbitrary and absurd performances at the Bureau of the Budget, getting in the way of the Secretary of Defense and of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, even exercising what amounts to a veto over the acts of Congress.

Mr. SIKES. I am fully aware that the Bureau of the Budget has frequently impeded congressional attempts to bolster the national defense.

You have already learned what this bill contains and I shall not detail it again. I do not need to tell you in the House of Representatives that morale is down in this Nation, or that our prestige is down abroad. I do not need to tell you that America must move ahead, must recapture the initiative; cannot afford to be second best. The race is to the strong. Russia knows our weaknesses. The world knows our weaknesses. Perhaps the American people know them least of all, but the American people want action today.

The Congress today must base its action on the information given to us by those who are considered experts. We have depended on these sources of information in the past and sometimes they have been inaccurate. We have no other choice but to follow the best advice we can get. We can however insist that every possible step be taken without interservice bickering and jealousy to put America out in front in the shortest possible time.

I said this is not a crash program. I believe there should be a crash program where there is a sufficient knowledge to justify working around the clock to improve our defense posture. This appropriation bill will help. It will not do all of the job or even a substantial part of it.

This much is sure, we cannot match Soviet military forces man for man or even weapon for weapon. Theirs is a controlled economy which can ignore domestic civilian needs; our economy cannot and would not, except in direct emergency. We must therefore rely principally upon one or more major deterrents to war which the Soviets fear so greatly they will not risk conflict.

We must follow through to the perfection of those deterrents to aggression as fast as we can with every action and

every dollar that is needed to insure that America goes out in front and stays in front just as long as danger threatens.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD].

(Mr. FORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, as we all will recall, last May there was a considerably different atmosphere in this Chamber when we were considering the fiscal 1958 military appropriation bill. The atmosphere, in my opinion, is infinitely better today than it was, for example, on May 29 of 1957. Perhaps the situation is something like the oft-quoted comment in reference to the weather: if you do not like the weather, wait a minute. If you do not like what the Congress did in May, June, July, and August of 1957 in reference to military appropriations, if you will wait a minute I think perhaps some errors may be remedied and changes made.

It is not often I disagree with my very good friend and extremely able colleague, the gentleman from Florida, in reference to military appropriations, but I think it is fair and proper to say in light of what he said just a minute ago that in this supplemental appropriation bill for the Department of Defense, there is over a billion dollars for ballistic missile detection systems, the acceleration of the Atlas, Thor, and Jupiter ballistic missiles program and the acceleration of the Polaris ballistic missile submarine program. This bill does provide for the urgent acceleration of those programs. I think it is also fair and proper to say that within the last week or two decisions have been made which give to the Army the authority to proceed more rapidly with their Nike-Zeus program, which is an anti-missile missile program. In addition, the Air Force has been told to proceed in the same way with their part of the anti-missile missile program, the radar detection system. I personally feel these programs are proceeding well and rapidly.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. SIKES. I have the very greatest respect for my able and distinguished colleague from Michigan. He and I years for a stronger defense and I respect him in every way. However, I do want to quote to the gentleman a statement by Secretary McElroy supporting my position. I refer to a statement on page 2 in the report which accompanies this bill.

The report says:

This is not in any way a true 1958 supplemental. It does not represent resubmission of requests for purposes heretofore budgeted and denied either in fiscal 1958 or any prior year.

At the same point Secretary McElroy is quoted as saying:

The programs covered by the supplemental request are all part of the 1959 budget but have been advanced into fiscal year 1958 in order to get them underway as quickly as possible.